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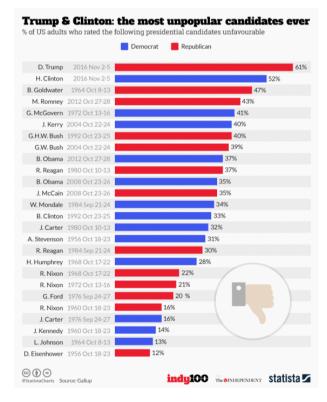
AGUSTÍN JOSÉ MENÉNDEZ Trump! Trump! Trump!

ABSTRACT - Despite the unpopularity, Donald Trump won the US elections. Instead of blaming the electors, we ought seriously to consider the reasons behind their choice. The loss of control by elites show us how they are no longer able to understand actual people's needs and the impact of the economic crisis. Trump, and Brexit as well, seemed to be impossible, but it happened. We have to take seriously any possible future change, because, nowadays, nothing can be taken for granted, neither our representative democracy.

KEYWORDS - Economic and political crisis, EU, Brexit, capitalism

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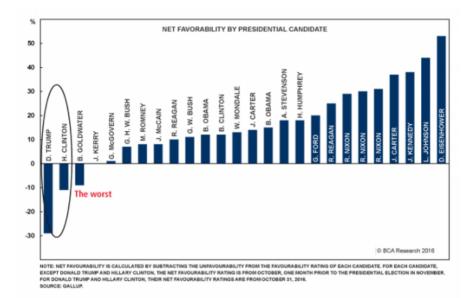
1. The establishment is shocked. But should we be shocked? The election of Trump is quite obviously a major event (but clearly we cannot still know what its actual historical importance is; in the era of twitter and facebook, everything has become a historical moment; it may turn out to be so, but we will only know ex post facto). But it does not come out of the blue at all. His election is but the (for the time being) last symptom of a massive structural crisis: both socio-economic and political. Even if Clinton II would have managed to defeat him, the crisis would have still been there. To viz: Clinton II and Trump I were the least liked, and more antagonising, candidates ever (with Goldwater a very distant third: fitingly, as he was in many ways the first symptom of the crisis).



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2. The shock for the establishment is temporary. Dollar will go down, yen up, euro moderately up, NOK perhaps also down, gold up, oil down, and so on. That is but anecdotal (unless some banks turned out to have been so close to the brink that they go over the fence). What really matters is that corporate lobbyists are already working hard at figuring out who will be the chaps in the cabinet of Trump, and to lobby hard for their vested interests being protected. If Clinton II was preferred to Trump was because this process will be much more difficult, much harder, and full of risks. Not because Trump is a Lenin in disguise. Just the opposite. Indeed, quite obviously, Trump is among the most ruthless capitalists of the last 40 years (he made his fortune out of the first austerity programme in the Western World: NYC in 1975). It is that that makes him by definition makes him dangerous for all other ruthless capitalists, who would have preferred somebody who could pretend to be something else, and who would not try too openly to make use of power to his own benefit and to the detriment of other ruthless capitalists. The question is not so much whether Trump will find a modus vivendi with the 'strong powers', with 'those in the know', but at which price for the woman in the Clapham omnibus (as the Brits once said) will come. Keep in mind that most of us are indeed the woman in the Claphman omnibus. Perspectives are deeply bleak.

3. The victory of Trump, just months after Brexit, is a clear symptom of the extent to which the elites have lost control. Elites stopped doing politics some thirty years ago and started doing management (see the formidable last documentary of Adam Curtis, Hypernormalisation, the best visual tract on political theory of the last decade). They pretended that they were in control, that management could stabilise society much more effectively than democratic politics. History was officially said to have ended, so we were all extreme centrists, interested in the administration of things, as of late of smartphones, Amazon's Dash buttons and ryanair prices. This was all the way a mirage, which did not take seriously the massive human suffering being created at the margins of western societies, and the mass of the wretched of the earth being cumulated in the peripheries of the world. The mirage was kepy by a naive simplification, at the same time that never in history so much nonsense was talked about complexity. Odd that the world was so complex and management was based on so simplistic and simplifying rules (like the stupid assumption that markets will selfstabilise themselves, as if there were such things as 'markets' and not a set of economic actors with names and family names, who interacted in everything but a market mode). From 2007 elites have been incapable of controlling the economy. They have been simply buying time (Streeck). And as a result, the 'extreme centre' has narrowed down massively, and what we have got is not the revolt of the masses (as the Tony Barbers of this world pretend), but the return of politics. Only in a very ugly form. Being confronted with the suicide or the assassination of Social Democratic and Christian Democratic politics, citizens cling to politicians who promise the reassertion of democratic self-government. But those who do that tend are in far too many cases plain demagogues and dangerous despots in the making; paradoxically, it is most of the time



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those who are not so that are labelled 'anti-systemic' figures.

Instead of blaming citizens, instead of blaming the voters, we should take seriously the structural causes of the patent political crisis, we should take seriously how the socio-economic order, once again, is fostering the death of democracy by a thousand cuts. Roosevelt managed to bring democracy back from the brink by means of devicing policies that cut the grass under the feet of the Huey Longs of the word. That is a relevant precedent.

4. Brexit was impossible, but actually happened. Trump was impossible, but actually happened. What is the next impossible that will happen? What is the next bitter fruit that the return of history will bring to us? Can anybody anymore say with a straight face that the victory of Le Pen is impossible? (a certain Mr Hollande, who pretends to be the President of France, has an approval rating of 4%! He has been working, unknowingly, in earnest to make Le Pen president) Can anybody with a straight face keep on pretending that monetary union and the EU itself are irreversible? Can anybody say that the only alternative around is representative democracy? If we look at the world through a trump, darkly, it is rather clear that Orban turns out to have been the herald of what the future was to bring to us. That is a very uneasy conclusion, but one that, to be proven right, would require that not only politics, but also democratic politics, was back. It is the socio-economic structure, stupid! It is either free movement of capital or democracy!